

ACTION

FE-8

RM/R	REP	AF
1		
ARA	EUR	FE
NEA	CU	INR
		5
E	P	IO
	2	3
6/11	FBO	AID
5/5	6	5/1
7	1	1
AGR	COM	FRB
INT	LAB	TAR
TR	XMB	AIR
		5
ARMY	CIA	NAVY
3	20	5
OSD	USIA	NSA
31		3
SFA	WH-RNSC	
1	3	6

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR

REVIEWED BY J. L. S. DATE 10/4/66

PORTIONS DENIED AS INDICATED

AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

EXCISE

A-126

CONFIDENTIAL

TO : Department of State

INFO : GINGPAC
DA NANG
HUE

FROM : AmEmbassy SAIGON

SUBJECT: The Candidates in I Corps

REF :

This airgram consists of a general summary of the field of candidates in I Corps; a listing of the candidates in each constituency and an identification of the likely winners; and statistical tables describing the field of candidates. Separate airgrams will deal with II, III and IV Corps and Saigon/Gia Dinh. Most of the narrative portion of this airgram is based upon reports by the Consulate at Hue and the Political Advisor to the III Marine Amphibious Force at Da Nang.

General Summary

Even after the defeat of the Struggle Movement of March through June, 1966, I Corps remains a significant political area. In its five provinces and two autonomous cities, Viet-Nam's two traditional nationalist parties are conspicuously active, and military candidates have come forward in several of the constituencies.

Very few persons associated with the Struggle Movement presented themselves as candidates, and most of those who did were disqualified (one list each in Quang Tri and Da Nang, neither of which appealed its exclusion to the Central Electoral Council). Three candidates with some record of support or sympathy for the Struggle remain in the running (an A.VN captain in Hue, a dissident VNQDD member in Thua Thien and a civil servant in Quang Ngai).

The Revolutionary Dai Viet Party, however, has moved strongly to consolidate its position in the northern portion of I Corps in the wake of the Struggle Movement. The Dai Viets have one list in Thua Thien, one in Quang Tri and one in Da Nang, and they have a candidate in Hue who is at least sympathetic to the party. In these four constituencies the Dai Viets are expected to take three of the nine seats at stake, have a good chance of gaining two more, and could conceivably win a sixth.

CONFIDENTIAL

FOR DEPT. USE ONLY

☒ In ☐ Out

Dated by: POL:RWTear:kw 8-30-66

Statistical Tables: POL: L. W. de

Contents and Classification Approved by:

POL: PCH: b7c

Clearances:

POL: JRBurke

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 2
A-126 SAIGON

The older Vietnamese Nationalist Party (VNQDD), which earlier this year seemed to have achieved an unusual degree of unity when most of its factions found common cause in opposition to the Struggle, remains ridden with factionalism. The Ky Dang Bo or (Central Committee of the) Central Viet-Nam branch of the VNQDD, which is headed by Nguyen dinh Luong and is the dominant faction in the area, has seven identifiable lists running in five of the seven constituencies. Candidates backed by or associated with the Ky Dang Bo could win anywhere from three to seven of the 14 seats at stake in these five constituencies. However, a list in Quang Tri originally backed by the Central Committee lost that support, apparently in the face of overpowering Dai Viet strength, and therefore withdrew, while a splinter VNQDD list remains as the Dai Viets' only opposition. And in three of the five constituencies the Ky Dang Bo is still contesting, it is challenged by members of other party factions (one in Thua Thien, one in Quang Nam, and one or two in Quang Ngai). At least two of the candidates heading these dissident lists have fair chances of election. Although most of the dissidents appear to be concerned primarily with advancing their own interests, most of them are loosely associated with each other. Thus of the 25 lists running in the I Corps' six multi-member constituencies, 10 and possibly 11 are connected with one or another of the VNQDD factions. Proportional representation insures, however, that the VNQDD candidates will not dominate these elections to the extent they did the 1965 Provincial Council elections in the three southern provinces of the Corps area.

Major General Hoang xuan Lam, acting Commander of I Corps, appears to have encouraged several of the military candidates who are standing for election. General Lam informed POLAD Da Nang that he intended to form "civilian-military political clubs" throughout I Corps, and on August 15 renamed the Cercle Sportif in Da Nang the "Doan Ket" (Unity) club as a first step in this direction. Some of the military candidates, however, are not natives (as in Da Nang) or even residents (in the case of Quang Tin) of the constituencies in which they are running. Of the 17 seats in I Corps, eight (one in Hue, two in Da Nang, three in Quang Tin and two of the four in Quang Ngai) are in effect being contested by eight active-duty officers, but only two or three of the eight officers have much chance of election.

Aside from the possibility of a Buddhist boycott of the elections (or a campaign by Buddhists who do vote to invalidate their ballots), religion appears to be only a subordinate factor. The Revolutionary Dai Viet party, for instance, while dependent in large measure on Catholic support, has a Buddhist at the head of its strong list in Thua Thien. The VNQDD candidates include Buddhists, Catholics, Confucianists and Cao Dai. The Catholic hierarchy evidently supports the Revolutionary Dai Viet lists in Da Nang and Quang Tri, whereas there are independent lists of Catholic candidates in Quang Nam and Quang Tin.

(This report includes no reference to a Montagnard seat assigned to Quang Ngai province because no information on candidates is yet available. Counting this Montagnard seat, I Corps has a total of 18.)

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 3
A-126 SAIGON

HUE

One seat. Three candidates.

- W 1. Vo huu THU. Symbol: Chinese character "Tam", meaning "heart" or "mind". Born November 11, 1930, Da Nang, CVN, where he still lives. Buddhist, married to a Catholic. ARVN officer, 1949-65, with rank of lieutenant colonel. Province chief of Thua Thien and mayor of Hue November 1964 to summer 1965, when he was demobilized due to personal differences with Lt. Gen. Nguyen chanh Thi. Now an artist. May be Dai Viet sympathizer.
2. Nguyen manh LIEN. Symbol: Sailing junk. Born 1904, Ha Noi, NVN. Ancestor-worship. Process server of the court in Hue. Ran as independent for Municipal Council in 1965 and lost. Conceded little chance because he is not a Buddhist and comes from NVN. A perennial candidate. *Search for northern vote support*
3. Nguyen dai BANG. Symbol: Fish and water. Born March 10, 1931, Hue, CVN. Buddhist. M.D. from University of Bordeaux. Assigned to military hospital in Hue. Active in the People's National Salvation Council in 1964 and linked to the 1966 Struggle Movement. Excluded by Provincial Electoral Council but appealed and was reinstated by Central Electoral Council, which noted that the PNSC was never a proscribed organization and that evidence of Bang's connections with recent Struggle was minimal. (In his appeal, Bang claimed that his contacts with Hue University faculty and students--and specifically with Dr. Le khac Quyen--were in line of official duty.)

Comment: Almost all Vietnamese sources expect Thu to win. A labor leader, for example, cited Thu's Buddhism and his record of assistance to the poor while Province Chief. In addition, his wife's Catholicism, the apparent support of the incumbent Province Chief and Mayor, Lt. Col. Phan van Khoa, and weariness of many Hue citizens with the Struggle Movement (which Bang may represent) may be factors in Thu's favor.

DA NANG

Two seats. Five lists remain in the race. Two other lists originally filed; one withdrew and the other, excluded by the Municipal Electoral Council because both its members were associated with the recent Struggle Movement, did not appeal its exclusion.

List I: (Independent; Buddhist)

1. Nguyen tri KIEM. Born August 1, 1913, Hue, CVN. Buddhist. Retired from ARVN in 1963 with rank of major. Now a building contractor.

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 4
A-126 SAIGON

2. Ngô CUONG. Born February 16, 1911, Quang Binh, CVN. Buddhist. Retired civil servant.

List II: (VNQDD; Catholic)

W 1. Do AI. Born July 27, 1935, Quang Nam, CVN. Catholic. Teacher at a private school. Deputy Secretary-General for Party Affairs of the City VNQDD Committee.

2. Nguyen dinh HY. Born September 8, 1924, Nam Dinh, NVN. Catholic. Teacher at a private school.

List III: Slogan: "People's Will". (Buddhist military officers)

1. Khieu thien KE. Born July 1, 1932, Nam Dinh, NVN. Buddhist. — *L*
VNAF captain.

2. Nguyen ngoc THU. Born January 9, 1931, Nam Dinh, NVN. Buddhist. VNAF captain, assigned to 41st Tactical Fighter Wing, Da Nang Air Base.

List IV: (Revolutionary Dai Viet Party; Catholic)

W 1. Bui van GIAI. Born June 7, 1917, Quang Tri, CVN. Catholic. School teacher. Disqualified at municipal level because he failed to present evidence of military status; appealed successfully to Central Electoral Council that fault lay with Ministry of National Defense.

b-1
ed 2. Nguyen huu KIEM. Born March 3, 1917, Quang Tri, CVN. Catholic. Dismissed from high post in Civil Service by Diem government and originally excluded on this ground. Appealed successfully that dismissal was for political rather than disciplinary reasons and thus not ground for exclusion under the present electoral law.

List V: (Independent; Buddhist)

1. Buu DAI. Born February 2, 1911, Hue, CVN. Buddhist. Former mayor of Da Nang. Now a civil servant.

2. Phan UYEN. Born September 7, 1907, Hue, CVN. Buddhist. Retired civil servant.

Disqualified: A list composed of Ho kim ANH and Mrs. Nguyen thi LOAN, who finished fifteenth and second respectively in the Municipal Council election of 1965, was disqualified on the ground that both had participated in the recent Struggle Movement. The exclusion of this list was a foregone conclusion to local observers, and the Mayor believes it did not appeal because local authorities had such strong evidence against both members.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 5
A-126 SAIGON

CONFIDENTIAL

Withdrew: A list comprising two ARVN Medical Corps captains, Le xuan PHU (a pharmacist) and Hoang duc NAM, was officially disqualified because neither candidate completed his dossier. In fact, this list is considered to have withdrawn because, according to the Mayor, its members "were afraid they wouldn't get enough votes".

Comment: In conversation with POLAD Da Nang, both the Mayor and the chairman of the Ky Dang Bo or CVN branch of the VNQDD have predicted that the most likely winners are Nguyen tri KIEM of List I, Do AI of List II, and Capt. KE of List III (who may receive considerable behind-the-scenes support from the CVN). These predictions were made before the reinstatement of the ^{Da Viet} Catholic candidates of List IV; the city Catholic population is believed to be at least 20%.

QUANG NAM

Two seats. Five lists remain; one of them was reinstated by Central Electoral Council. One list was disqualified because the candidates' dossiers were incomplete.

List I. (Independent)

1. Nguyen gia THU. Born March 22, 1935, Ha Noi, NVN. Practices law in Saigon. Believed to have little local support but appears to be a personal friend of the Province Chief, Dr. Nguyen huu Chi.
2. Phan quang LIEN. Born January 15, 1905, Quang Tri, CVN. Buddhist. Retired civil servant with some medical training; now operates a pharmacy.

List II. (Independent; Catholic support)

1. Phan huy ANH. Born January 25, 1912, Binh Dinh, CVN. Catholic, chairman of Catholic Association of Quang Nam. Businessman. Half-brother of prominent Saigon politician Dr. Phan quang Dan. A perennial candidate.
2. Buu UNG. Born August 15, 1917, Binh Thuan, CVN. Northern ancestry. Buddhist. Former chief of Que Son district in Quang Nam and disqualified by Provincial Electoral Council for this reason; reinstated by Central Electoral Council when it was determined he ceased to be district chief in December, 1965, i.e., more than six months before election. Still employed in district administrative office.

List III. (VNQDD)

1. Ho cong THUONG. Born October 12, 1932, Quang Nam, CVN. Private employee. Member of Ky Dang Bo ^{Faction} and Deputy Secretary-General for External Relations of the party's committee in Da Nang.

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 6
A-126 SAIGON

2. Nguyen xuan DIEU. Born May 5, 1930. Quang Nam, CVN. Civil servant. filed a complaint with the Central Electoral Council alleging that Dieu had a record of activities beneficial to the Communists. [submitted no evidence, so the complaint was dismissed.]

List IV. (VNQDD)

- ✓ 1. Le nguyen LONG. Born February 2, 1924, Quang Nam, CVN. Buddhist. Civil servant (chief of province Information Service). Long record of political activity; imprisoned by Viet-Minh (1948), Diem government (1963) and Struggle Movement (1966). Identified with the Tran Hoang faction in Quang Ngai (List IV).
2. Thai binh EM. Born 1896, Quang Tri, CVN. Buddhist. Farmer and official of district farmers' association.

List V. (VNQDD)

- W 1. Khuc thua VAN alias Bat KHUAT. Born March 15, 1928, Quang Nam, CVN. Confucianist. Farmer and businessman. Received more than 47,000 votes to finish second in the Provincial Council election 1965. Deputy Secretary-General for External Relations of the VNQDD Quang Nam provincial committee. Severely wounded by Struggle hoodlums in May 1966.
2. Nguyen QUY. Born January 1, 1920, Quang Nam, CVN. Farmer. Was fifth of 12 elected to Provincial Council in 1965, with 40,690 votes.

Disqualified: A list composed of two VN Air Force officers, Major Nguyen van HAU and Capt. Ly thanh BA, was officially disqualified because of incomplete documentation. According to the Province Chief, military authorities decided this list would make a poor showing and, in effect, withdrew it.

Comment: Most interesting factor is the apparent disunity of the VNQDD, as exemplified by Long's complaint against fellow-party member Dieu. The Province Chief believes that Long is the strongest VNQDD candidate and discounts VNQDD Central Committee support for Van. Other sources consider Van the best known candidate, and he ran well last year. Still others believe that Thu, the non-VNQDD heading List I, has a chance.

QUANG NGAI

Four seats. Six lists remain, one of them having been approved by the Central Electoral Council after the provincial screening body took no decision. A seventh list was disqualified because one or more of its members had not fulfilled military service obligations.

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 7
A-126 SAIGON

List I. (Independent)

- W 1. Tran van PHIEN. Born May 16, 1926, Quang Ngai, CVN. Buddhist. Civil servant ^{b-1} _{ed} ^{formerly} chief of Rural Construction and of cadre as well). Conflicting reports of associations; variously identified as VNQDD member or sympathizer, recipient of Dai Viet support, and collaborator with Struggle Movement.
2. Ho ngoc CAN. Born July 14, 1929, Quang Ngai, CVN. Variously reported to be Buddhist and Catholic. Farmer.
3. Ton MAN. Born March 1, 1919, Quang Ngai, CVN. Variously reported to be Buddhist and Catholic, VNQDD and Dai Viet. Civil servant employed in provincial Social Welfare service.
4. Le quang TAM. Born July 6, 1930, Quang Ngai, CVN. Cao Dai, Deputy village chief.

List II. (VNQDD; Vo Trang or "young" faction)

- W 1. Vo BAO. Born August 24, 1920, Quang Ngai, CVN. Buddhist. Headmaster of private school. Deputy Secretary-General for Party Affairs of the Quang Ngai provincial committee of the VNQDD.
2. Le trung QUANG. Born September 12, 1924, Quang Ngai, CVN. Buddhist. Ex-Viet Minh. Civil servant (public health assistant). VNQDD member.
3. Le vinh hoai DUC. Born November 9, 1925, Quang Ngai, CVN. Buddhist. Ex-Viet Minh. Farmer. VNQDD member.
4. Nguyen huu THONG. Born July 1, 1928, Quang Ngai, CVN. Ancestor worship. Farmer. Reportedly imprisoned 1958-60 for anti-Diem activities on behalf of VNQDD. Finished 12th of twelve successful candidates in 1965 Provincial Council election.

List III. (VNQDD; Tran Hoang or "old" faction)

- W 1. Tran HOANG. Born January 1, 1921, Quang Ngai, CVN. Buddhist. Teacher at private school. Long-time VNQDD activist; imprisoned by Viet Minh and interrogated by Diem government. Leader of the Quang Ngai faction of the party that bears his name. Claimed as recently as May, 1966 that he planned to retire from politics but seems to have changed his mind.
2. Pham dinh NGHI. Born September 25, 1913, Quang Ngai, CVN. Ancestor worship. Civil servant. Ex-Viet Minh. Province chief of Quang Ngai, 1954-56. Active in People's National Salvation Council and allegedly a leader of one of the Struggle Movement organizations in 1966; latter allegation caused this list to be submitted to Central

DECLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 8

A-126 SAIGON

Electoral Council, which followed recommendation of Province Chief, Dr. Bui Hoanh, and allowed list to stand.

3. Tran ngoc DIEU. Born October 19, 1907, Quang Ngai, CVN. Buddhist. Merchant. Former deputy district chief. Finished second in 1965 Provincial Council election with more than 64,000 votes.

4. Luu duc HUE. Born August 12, 1898, Quang Ngai, CVN. Buddhist. Farmer.

List IV. (Independent)

1. Tran TUONG. Born March 16, 1927, Quang Ngai, CVN. Buddhist. Teacher. Imprisoned at Con Son island after abortive anti-Diem coup of November, 1960. Alleged by Nguyen dinh Luong of Central Viet-Nam VNQDD to have backing of Saigon VNQDD.

2. Huynh ngoc CAN. Born March 3, 1930, Quang Ngai, CVN. Cao Dai. Farmer. Allegedly arrested in 1960 on suspicion of anti-government activities; may be a VNQDD member.

3. Le xuan THAO, alias Hong VAN. Born March 1, 1910, Quang Nam, CVN. Catholic. Farmer.

4. Nguyen duc TU. Born May 15, 1894, Quang Ngai, CVN. Confucianist. Oriental physician. Allegedly worked for Viet Minh and later for Diem's National Revolutionary Movement.

List V. (Independent; leading member is military officer)

1. Nguyen van LOI. Born January 7, 1930, Saigon, SVN. Variously described as Buddhist and Catholic. ARVN major; officer on staff of 2nd Infantry Division. b-1
ed

2. Nguyen TUNG. Born December 26, 1900, Quang Tri, CVN. Catholic. "Notable"; member of 1956 and 1959 National Assemblies.

3. Nguyen DAI. Born April 1, 1922, Quang Ngai, CVN. Confucianist. Teacher. "Former communist cadre."

4. Tran HOANG. (Not to be confused with first candidate on List III, who has the same name.) Born August 31, 1908, Quang Ngai, CVN. Businessman. Viet Minh village chief; later associated with National Revolutionary Movement.

List VI. (Independent; leading member is military officer)

W 1. Nguyen van CHUYEN. Born June 4, 1926, Khanh Hoa, CVN. Catholic. ARVN major; has held battalion and regimental commands, now heads provincial New Life Hamlet service.

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 9
A-126 SAIGON

2. Hong quang TRAM. Born November 11, 1928, Thua Thien, CVN. Buddhist. Former civil servant; b-1
ed
3. Mrs. Nguyen thi NI. Born February 22, 1923, Quang Ngai, CVN. Protestant. Businesswoman and housewife. Husband is a civil servant.
4. Nguyen dinh LONG. Born December 15, 1923, Quang Ngai, CVN. Catholic. Farmer.

Disqualified: A second list sponsored by the "old" or Tran Hoang faction of the Quang Ngai VNQDD was disqualified because its leading candidate, Le quang CHUONG, had failed to respond to a draft summons. The draft status (and perhaps the political history) of another member, Nguyen TOAN, was also in doubt. The Central Electoral Council rejected Chuong's appeal from the original exclusion by the Provincial Electoral Council, and the list had no alternate candidate.

Comment: Vietnamese sources, including the Province Chief, the head of the Ky Dang Bo, and a member of the Corps commander's staff, generally agree that independent Phien (List I) and VNQDD rivals Bao (List II) and Hoang (List III) are quite certain to win. The fourth seat may go to one of the military officers who head Lists V and VI. (For background on the VNQDD split in Quang Ngai, and the party throughout I Corps, see Embassy's A-637 of May 18, 1966 and A-683 of June 9, 1966.)

QUANG TIN

Three seats. Four lists are running. Individual members of two lists were disqualified at province level for reasons relating to their military service. One was reinstated on appeal to the Central Electoral Council. The appeal of the other was rejected because he had deserted from ARVN. Ironically, this candidate had been severely wounded in the first serious incident of VC anti-election terrorism and had announced from his hospital bed that he intended to remain in the running.

List I: ("Official" VNQDD list)

- W 1. Phan nhu TOAN. Born September 4, 1925, Quang Tin, CVN. Buddhist. Civil servant (clerk of court) in Da Nang, where he serves as Commissioner for Routine Business of the Thanh Dang Bo (city committee) of the VNQDD. Erroneously listed with surname "Pham" in A-637, May 18, 1966 and A-637, June 9, 1966. Originally number two on this list.
2. Vo ngoc TRAC. Born July 14, 1914, Quang Tin, CVN. No known religion. Farmer. Originally number three on this list.

DECLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 10
A-126 SAIGON

3. Vo duy DIEM. Born November 12, 1905, Quang Tin, CVN. Confucianist. Oriental physician. Worked with the Viet Minh in 1945 but later arrested by them. Formerly an assistant district chief. Originally the alternate on this list.

Disqualified: Phan THONG, born July 26, 1923 in Quang Tin, businessman, until recently a resident of Saigon. Thong originally headed this list but was disqualified because he deserted from ARVN, in which he held the rank of sergeant, in 1960. (He reportedly fled to Cambodia after the abortive coup led by then-Col. Nguyen chanh Thi in November of that year.) Lost both legs when VNQDD provincial headquarters in Tam Ky was blown up by the VC in the early morning hours of July 17, 1966.

List II: (Catholic) *Put Together by Church*

1. Nguyen cong LUAN. Born December 15, 1928, Binh Dinh, CVN. Catholic. Listed as a businessman, but in fact a policeman until he resigned in order to run for election. Sometime seminary student. Imprisoned by the Viet Minh for six months in 1963. Disqualified by Provincial Electoral Council because he should have served in ARVN as an officer, having had the equivalent of a partial university education, but instead served in RF/PF. Documents from the Ministry of National Defense indicated that his military status was satisfactory, so the Central Electoral Council accepted his appeal and reinstated him.

2. Le KINH. Born February 2, 1925, Quang Tin, CVN. Catholic. Tea merchant.

3. Ruong van LOC. Born July 12, 1905, Thai Binh, NVN. Catholic. Jewelry merchant. Former civil servant.

List III: (Slogan: "Self-Determination". Military. None is native to the province, and all live in Da Nang.)

W 1. Ton that UAN. Born June 1, 1922, Hue, CVN. ARVN captain in engineer corps.

2. Dang van NHUAN. Born December 19, 1933, Ha Noi, NVN. Present or former ARVN captain and at one time a liaison officer to Allied forces at I Corps HQ. (There is some doubt that this man is still on active duty.)

3. Nguyen lu THE. Born October 16, 1937, Quang Tri, CVN. Apparently an aspirant or "sub-lieutenant" (chuan uy) in ARVN and serving on the I Corps staff.

List IV: (Cao Dai/VNQDD)

1. Tran cong DINH. Born December 15, 1925, Quang Tin, CVN. Cao Dai. Teacher. VNQDD member. Finished second in 1965 Provincial Council

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 11
A-126 SAIGON

CONFIDENTIAL

election and served as chairman of the Council. Attended second National Administrative Conference in March, 1966. Member of the Electoral Law Drafting Committee, May-June, 1966.

2. Nguyen minh DAO. Born January 1, 1923, Quang Nam, CVN. Gao Dai. Teacher, VNQDD member. Finished sixth of nine successful candidates for the Provincial Council, 1965, and represented the province in the National Political Congress, April, 1966.

3. Mai nhu QUE. Born December 25, 1931, Quang Tin, CVN. Gao Dai. Teacher. VNQDD sympathizer. Less prominent than the other members of this list.

Comment: Phan Thong, the disqualified candidate, was a likely winner, along with Tran cong Dinh of List IV. The VNQDD would thereby have won at least two seats. Now, Vietnamese sources seem to think that the Dinh will win a seat and that the other two could go to any of the four following candidates: Toan (VNQDD), Luan (Catholic), and Capt. Uan (ARVN), the heads of the first three lists, and Nguyen minh Dao, the Gao Dai VNQDD members who is number two on List IV. (At the time of filing, no list had an alternate candidate. But when Phan Thong was disqualified, his list suddenly acquired an alternate. POLAD Da Nang has commented: "Just how List I picked up its alternate may never be clarified, but the option, whatever it was, apparently was not open to the Catholic list." Luan's reinstatement thus saved List II from elimination.)

QUANG TRI

Two seats. Two lists remain of the five that originally filed. One was disqualified because its leading member had committed "acts beneficial to the Communists" (Article 10, paragraph 9 of the Electoral Law). Two other lists, one independent and the other officially sponsored by the VNQDD, withdrew subsequent to their approval by the Provincial Electoral Council. The contest has thus narrowed to a two-way race between a strong Revolutionary Dai Viet list and a weak VNQDD splinter ticket.

List I. Slogan: Unity. (Revolutionary Dai Viet Party)

1. Hoang xuan TUU. Born May 5, 1928, Quang Tri, CVN. Born a Buddhist, converted to Catholicism at the time of his marriage. Teacher. Province chief of Quang Tri from early 1964 to late 1965; denounced by Buddhists and VNQDD for allegedly repressing Buddhists and for recruiting Catholics and "Can Lao remnants" into the PAT program. Once imprisoned by the Diem government. Member of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Dai Viet party (another member is Nguyen van Ngai, head of Thua Thien List III). Nephew of Hoang trong Thuan, long-time VNQDD

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 12
A-126 SAIGON

leader in Quang Tri who supported him against Buddhists and the rest of the VNQDD last year. First cousin of Major General Hoang xuan Lam, acting I Corps commander.

2. Le dinh CAI. Born January 1, 1941, Quang Tri, CVN. Buddhist. Third-year student at Hue University Faculty of Letters, where he led a small but vocal Dai Viet student group. Resigned from his position as an officer of the Hue Student Union in opposition to the Struggle Movement.

List II. Slogan is the names of the two candidates. (Represents Young People's Revolutionary Force, a VNQDD faction)

W 1. Nguyen thanh VINH. Born June 15, 1928, Quang Tri, CVN. Confucianist. Teacher. Long-time resident of Saigon and appears to be running almost in absentia. VNQDD member associated with Le ngoc Chan faction of the party. Attempted to organize the YPRF in Saigon and in Central Viet-Nam in 1965. Imprisoned by the Diem government, 1962-63.

2. Le huu THANG. Born April 2, 1938, Quang Tri, CVN. Confucianist. Teacher. Recently completed five years' military service. VNQDD member. Said to be running the list's campaign in Vinh's absence.

Withdrawn: A third list, running under the name of the VNQDD, consisted of two civil servants, Dinh van TUNG and Dang xuan LAC. This list withdrew in early August when the VNQDD (presumably the Ky Dang Bo) withdrew its support, perhaps fearing a poor showing against List I.

A fourth list comprised Mrs. Le thi NGO, a Buddhist housewife active in civic work, and Le LUONG, a former civil servant. The reasons for the withdrawal of this independent list are not clear, but (Dai Viet) province officials may have pressured Luong into withdrawing by threatening to raise charges that he had embezzled funds while employed in the provincial electric service. If Luong withdrew first, Mrs. Ngo (who ran unsuccessfully for the National Assembly in 1959) was probably obliged to withdraw for lack of an alternate.

Disqualified: A list headed by Le dinh NGOAN, former chairman of the Provincial Council, was disqualified by a 6-1 vote of the Provincial Electoral Council and did not appeal its exclusion. The specific charges against Ngoan were 1) that in August, 1965 he attempted to overthrow then-Province Chief Tuu by slanderously charging him with dishonesty and corruption before a large crowd; 2) that in the same month the Provincial Council, which he chaired, distributed handbills denouncing Thieu and Ky; 3) that he supported the Struggle Movement in the spring of 1966; and 4) that in May 1966 the Council sent a telegram to the GVN denouncing its action in sending troops to Da Nang. The Consulate at Hue has commented that Ngoan's exclusion

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 13
A-126 SAIGON

represents in part a personal vendetta by Tuu and demonstrates current Dai Viet strength in Quang Tri. Ngoan's running mate was Tran thien LANG, owner of a local ice cream parlor. Ngoan has since been arrested; b-1
ec

Comment: Hue has noted that Ngoan was the only candidate who might have drawn on whatever remains of organized Buddhist opposition to the GVN. With the subsequent withdrawal of the official VNQDD list, Tuu and his running-mate Cai face only token opposition. Most observers therefore believe that Tu and Cai will be elected in a landslide.

THUA THIEN

Three seats. Three lists are running. One list purported to be an official VNQDD list, but it actually consists of party dissidents. A second list, nominally independent, appears to represent the mainstream of VNQDD thinking, while the third, also "independent", is in fact a Revolutionary Dai Viet ticket.

List I. Symbol: Buffalo (Originally had "lotus blossom" as symbol and used the name "Central Viet-Nam Interprovince VNQDD, which it has dropped.)

1. Ho thuc TU. Born December 25, 1913, Quang Nam, CVN. Buddhist. Retired civil servant (railroad employee). Tu is a long-time activist who has tried without notable success to unite VNQDD branches throughout I Corps under his own leadership. He claims that his associates in this enterprise include Nguyen thanh Vinh (Quang Tri, List II), Tran Hoang (Quang Ngai, List IV) and Le nguyen Long (Quang Nam, List IV). Tu cooperated with the Struggle Movement; a Struggle-oriented document he tried to pass off as a VNQDD position paper was reported to the Department in A-612 of May 6, 1966. - claims to be better

2. Do duc TUAN, alias Duc THU. Born October 4, 1924, Quang Ngai, CVN. Catholic. Journalist. VNQDD member. Close associate of Nguyen van Man, Mayor of Da Nang during the height of the Struggle movement. Spread story that Da Nang VNQDD figure Phan Thuyet was assassinated by rival party members during the Struggle. (For an account of Tuan's role in this episode, see pages 9-10 of A-682, June 9, 1966.) Originally number three on this list. - claims to come from

3. Nguyen manh HUYEN. Born June 15, 1915, Thua Thien, CVN. Confucianist. Retired civil servant. Originally supported General Thi in March, 1966, but then denounced Struggle Movement. His son participated in the Movement at Hue University. Originally number two on this list; then demoted to alternate; finally restored as number three when Vo ta Loc (below) was disqualified. Has told an officer of the Consulate at Hue that he would prefer to be out of the race altogether.

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 14
A-126 SAIGON

Disqualified: Vo ta LOC, a 25-year-old Buddhist, VNQDD member, alleged Struggle participant, and employee of the Thua Thien Health Service, was originally the alternate on this list. He was moved up to the number three position when Huyen was removed as number two, but then disqualified for lack of evidence that he had complied with military service requirements.

List II. Symbol: Rice-flower. (Nominally independent; in fact the "official" VNQDD list.)

- W 1. Tran tan VIET. Born June 16, 1936, Phu Tho, NVN. Confucianist. Lawyer with degree from University of Saigon, 1962. Deputy Secretary-General for External Relations (i.e., spokesman) of Thua Thien VNQDD. Described by a consular officer at Hue as a "dynamic and forceful speaker".
2. Nguyen hong GIAO. Born January 1, 1922, Quang Nam, CVN. Buddhist. Teacher. VNQDD member. Originally number three on this list.
3. Nguyen gia PHOI. Born January 24, 1932, Thai Binh, NVN. Confucianist. Teacher. VNQDD. Originally the alternate on this list.

Disqualified. Nguyen then PHUOC QUA, a 25-year-old native of Hue, Confucianist, headmaster of a school and VNQDD member, was originally number two on this list but was disqualified when he failed to present evidence that he had performed military service. He has since been drafted.

List III. Symbol: Liberty Bell. (Nominally independent; in fact, Revolutionary Dai Viet party.)

- W 1. Nguyen van NGAI. Born September 12, 1934, Quang Tri, CVN. Buddhist. Professor at Van Hanh (Buddhist) University in Saigon. Member of the Revolutionary Dai Viet Central Committee (another is Hoang xuan Tuu, Quang Tri List I). Probably running in Thua Thien because his Buddhism and association with Van Hanh will appeal to Hue voters.
- W 2. Tran DIEN. Born January 1, 1912, Thua Thien, CVN. Catholic. Professor at a Catholic high school and at Hue University. Member of Revolutionary Dai Viet party and brother-in-law of party leader Ha thuc Ky. Imprisoned by Diem regime from 1959 to 1963.
3. Doan xuan HUYEN. Born January 16, 1934, Thua Thien, CVN. Religion unknown. Civil servant (chief of provincial education service). Associated with People's National Salvation Council in 1964; has since become a Dai Viet cadre.

Comment: Province Chief Lt. Col. Phan van Khoa has predicted that the Dai Viet professors, Ngai and Dien (List III), and the "official" VNQDD candidate Viet (List II) will win Thua Thien's seats. Other

DECLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 15

A-126 SAIGON

sources generally agree, although it is possible that Nguyen hong Giao of List II could take the third seat away from Professor Dien. List III benefited from the disqualification of Loc (List I) and Phuoc Qua (List II), the only serious opposing candidates who were natives of the province.

The Consulate at Hue has remarked that Ho thuc Tu, leader of List I, appears to be unpopular both for his support of the Struggle and for his break with his fellow VNQDD members. Forbidden to use the "lotus" symbol, Tu can no longer expect to pick up the votes of casual, rural Buddhists, and his only remaining hope is the possible support of Struggle-oriented voters or the unlikely event of a concerted Buddhist effort to elect a candidate.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF CANDIDATES

A. CONSTITUENCIES, SEATS, AND CANDIDATE PARTICIPATION

I Corps has 72 candidates (13% of the nation's total of 542) running for 17 seats (15% of the nation's 108) in seven constituencies. The average of 4.2 candidates per seat is below the national average of 5.0.

<u>Constituency</u>	<u>Seats</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Candidates per seat</u>
Hue	1	3	3
Da Nang	2	10	5
Quang Nam	2	10	5
Quang Ngai	4	24	6
Quang Tin	3	12	4
Quang Tri	2	4	2
Thua Thien	3	9	3
Totals	17	72	4.2

B. AGE

Average and median age is in the early 40s, with by far the largest group between 35 and 44:

	<u>over 55</u>	<u>45-54</u>	<u>35-44</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>Total</u>
Hue	1		2		3
Da Nang	3	3	2	2	10
Quang Nam	2	3	3	2	10
Quang Ngai	6	4	14		24
Quang Tin	2	1	7	2	12
Quang Tri			3	1	4
Thua Thien		3	2	4	9
Totals	14	14	33	11	72
% of Total	19.4	19.5	46	15	100

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 16
A-126 SAIGON

C. REGIONAL ORIGIN

<u>Constituency</u>	<u>North</u>	<u>Center above 17th parallel</u>	<u>Center below 17th parallel</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Hue	1		2		3
Da Nang	3	1	6		10
Quang Nam	1		9		10
Quang Ngai			23	1	24
Quang Tin	2		10		12
Quang Tri			4		4
Thua Thien	2		7		9
Totals	9		61	1	72
% of total	13	1	85	1	100

D. CURRENT RESIDENCE

Fifty-four of the 72 candidates (75%) live in the provinces and cities whose seats they are contesting; 16 live in nearby Central Vietnamese provinces or cities, and two are from Saigon.

E. RELIGION

<u>Constituency</u>	<u>Buddhist</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Gao Dai</u>	<u>Confucianist</u>	<u>Ancestor Worship</u>	<u>Unknown</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Hue	2				1		3
Da Nang	6	4					10
Quang Nam	4	1		1		4	10
Quang Ngai	10	6	2	2	2	2	24
Quang Tin	1	3	3	1		4	12
Quang Tri	1	1		2			4
Thua Thien	3	2		3		1	9
Totals	27	17	5	9	3	11	72
% of total	38	24	7	12	4	15	100

F. CURRENT OCCUPATION

There are a wide variety of occupations represented, particularly education, business, farming, the civil service and the military. No group predominates.

Few provincial or municipal council members have participated.

DECLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 17
A-126 SAIGON

Constituency	RVNAF	GVN	Merchant	Farmer	Education	Retired	Other*	Total	(Council Members)
Hue	1	1					1	3	
Da Nang	2	1	1		3	2	1	10	
Quang Nam		3	1	3			3	10	2
Quang Ngai	2	4	3	7	4		4	24	2
Quang Tin	2	2	2	2	1		1	12	2
Quang Tri					3		1	4	
Thua Thien		1			4	2	2	9	
Totals	7	12	7	12	16	4	14	72	6
% of total	10	17	10	17	22	6	19	100	

*2 doctors, 2 lawyers, 2 journalists, 3 "notables", 2 employees of US agencies, one student, one pharmacist and one private employee

LODGE

DECLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL